

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PARIS 06694 01 OF 02 051514Z

53

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 ACDA-05 /075 W

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R 051652Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8507

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 06694

E. O. 1L652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, CH

SUBJECT: FRENCH VIEWS CONCERNING THE POWER STRUGGLE IN
CHINA

SUMMARY: THE FRENCH REMAIN PUZZLED ABOUT THE POWER STRUGGLE IN PEKING. THEY THINK THE FATE OF TENG WAS ALREADY SETTLED WHEN HUA WAS NAMED ACTING PRIME MINISTER, AND THE CURRENT STAGES OF THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST HIM ARE DESIGNED TO INFORM OTHERS OF HIS REMOVAL. THE BASIC STRUGGLE APPEARS TO BE OVER POWER, AND ISSUES ARE USED AS ARMS IN THE STRUGGLE. FOREIGN POLICY DIFFERENCES COULD BECOME ONE OF THE "ARMS", AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT TENG COULD BE LABELED (PROBABLY FALSELY) AS PRO-SOVIET. ALTHOUGH TENG APPEARS OUT, THE FRENCH DO NOT YET DISCOUNT THE STRENGTH OF THE "MODERATES" SINCE THE STRENGTH OF THE IDEOLOGUES COMES IN LARGE PART FROM BEING ABLE TO SPEAK FOR MAO.

1. QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR ASIA DUZER TOLD EMBOFF THAT THE FRENCH EMBASSY PEKING CONTINUED TO REPORT ON THE POWER STRUGGLE, BUT THE QUAI IS STILL PUZZLED ABOUT WHAT IS REALLY HAPPENING. IT SEEMS FROM THE RHYTHM OF
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PAGE 02 PARIS 06694 01 OF 02 051514Z

THE EVENTS THAT THE DECISION TO ATTACK AND DOWNGRADE TENG HSIAO-P'ING WAS MADE BEFORE THE NOMINATION OF HUA

AS ACTING PRIME MINISTER. THE VARIOUS STAGES OF ATTACK (GENERAL TA TZU PAO, GENERAL ATTACKS IN THE PRESS, MENTION OF TENG BY NAME IN THE POSTERS, SINGLING OUT OF TENG CLEARLY IN THE PRESS LEADING RATHER RAPIDLY, IT SEEMS, TO OPEN DENUNCIATION OF TENG IN THE PRESS AND THEN CALLING FOR HIS REMOVAL) WERE DESIGNED TO BREAK THE NEWS TO THE LOWER RANKING CADRES AND THE CHINESE PEOPLE AND TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION -- TO THE CHINESE AS WELL AS FOREIGNERS -- THAT THE REMOVAL WAS IN RESPONSE TO "THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE".

2. DUZER THINKS THAT THE BASIC STRUGGLE IS OVER POWER. ALTHOUGH IT IS CONVENIENT TO REFER TO ONE GROUP AS THE IDEOLOGUES AND THE OTHER AS THE MODERATES, THE IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES APPEAR TO BE ARMS IN THE STRUGGLE RATHER THAN THE SUBSTANCE OF THE STRUGGLE. HENCE, THE IDEOLOGUES ARE REALLY NOT SO VERY IDEOLOGICAL, AND DUZER THINKS IT MIGHT BE MORE ACCURATE TO REFER TO THAT GROUP AS THE "IMPERIAL CLAN", AS TAIPEI HAS CALLED IT.

3. TO DATE FOREIGN POLICY HAD NOT PLAYED A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE POWER STRUGGLE, BUT IN A DESPERATE STRUGGLE ANY ARM NEAR AT HAND MIGHT BE USED. DUZER THEREFORE THINKS THAT FOREIGN POLICY DISPUTES MIGHT FIGURE IN THE DEBATE. HE THOUGHT IT SIGNIFICANT THAT THE JAPANESE REPORTED TENG WAS BEING ATTACKED AS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RETURN OF THE SOVIET HELICOPTER AND CREW AND, BY IMPLICATION, FOR FAVORING IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE USSR. HENCE, ONE COULD HAVE THE

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PAGE 01 PARIS 06694 02 OF 02 051512Z

53

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 06694

ANOMALOUS SITUATION OF THE IDEOLOGUES FAVORING A PRO-AMERICAN STANCE, AND BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WARM RECEPTION FOR NIXON. CERTAINLY THE PRC PERMITTED A DISPLAY OF EMOTION TOWARD NIXON -- INCLUDING CROWD SCENES, PARTICULARLY THE ONE IN CANTON -- WHICH WAS UNPRECEDENTED FOR A VISITING FOREIGNER. DUZER HAD ALSO BEEN STRUCK BY THE ARTICLE BY DAVID EISENHOWER IN THE WALL STREET JOURNAL IN WHICH HE WROTE THAT THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS WITH THE US AND USSR WAS A PART OF THE DISPUTE AND THAT MAO WAS PRO-US AND TENG WAS PRO-USSR. ALTHOUGH EISENHOWER IS NOT A CHINA EXPERT, HE MUST HAVE HEARD SOMETHING WHICH WOULD PERMIT HIM TO MAKE SUCH SWEEPING ASSERTIONS. DUZER THINKS THAT EVEN IF TENG WERE TARRED WITH THE BRUSH OF PRO-SOVIET REVISIONISM (AS HAD BEEN KAO KANG, P'ENG TE-HUAI, AND LIN PIAO), IT WOULD NOT MEAN ANY BASIC CHANGE IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY, MERELY ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION OF THE SEIZURE OF ANY ARM TO ATTACK THE OPPOSING SIDE.

4. ALTHOUGH THE FORM OF THE RECENT ATTACKS ON TENG SEEM TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT HE IS COMPLETELY OUT OF THE POWER STRUCTURE, IT IS HARD TO KNOW WHERE THE OTHERS
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PAGE 02 PARIS 06694 02 OF 02 051512Z

IN THE "MODERATE GROUP" STAND -- PARTICULARLY SINCE HUA HIMSELF SEEMS TO BE OF THAT GROUP. SOME OF THE ARMY LEADERS WERE VERY MUCH IN EVIDENCE ON THE TAIWAN UP-RISING ANNIVERSARY (FEBRUARY 28), BUT THEIR ROLE IN THIS STRUGGLE IS ALSO NOT CLEAR. THE IDEOLOGUES WERE IN CONTROL OF THE NEWSPAPERS, BUT THIS POWER WOULD BE OF MUCH LESS VALUE IF MAO WERE TO DIE. EXPRESSING THE THOUGHTS OF MAO GIVES THE "IMPERIAL CLAN" POWER, BUT ONCE THE WORDS ARE MERELY THEIR OWN, THEIR WEIGHT IS GREATLY DIMINISHED.
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